

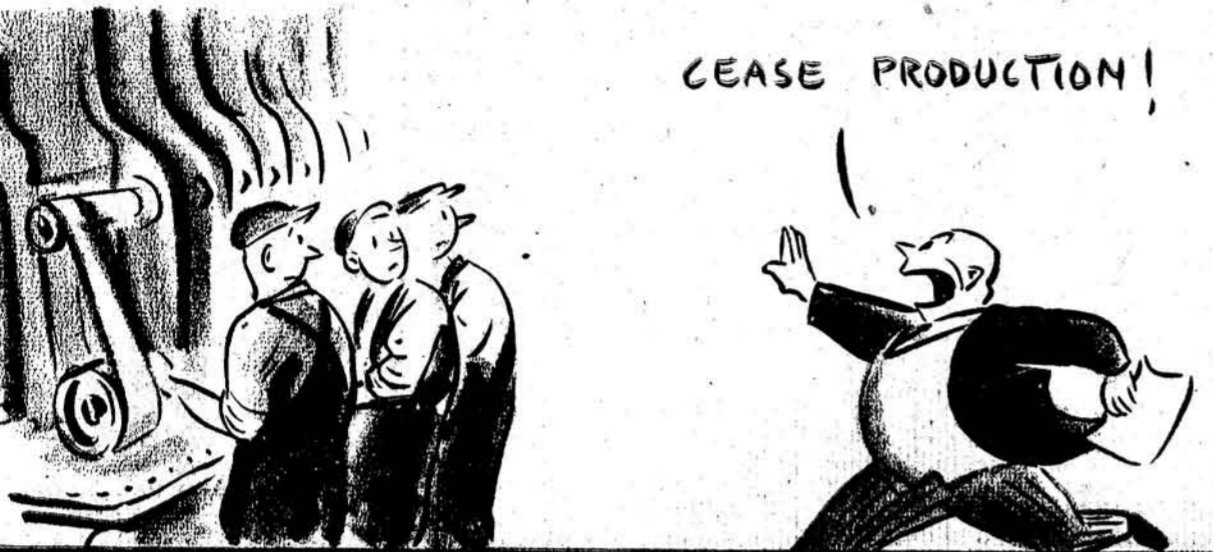
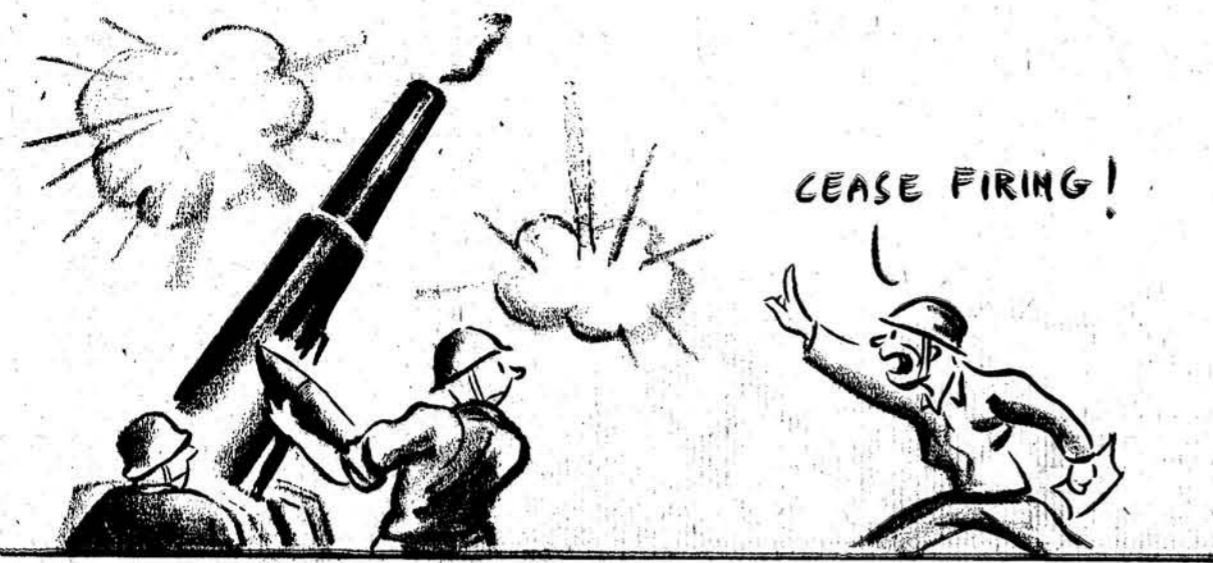
# LABOR ACTION

SEPTEMBER 3, 1945

A PAPER IN THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

ONE CENT

## Cessation of Hostilities!



# QUIT STALLING AND PROVIDE THE JOBS!

## The Road Ahead For British Labor

By MARY BELL

The eyes of the world's workers and oppressed have been turned hopefully upon England, just as those of the world's rulers and exploiters have turned anxiously in the same direction ever since the election victory of the British Labor Party.

The English workers, through their tremendous mandate for thoroughgoing social change at the polls, have given a mighty impetus to the battle of all workers for complete emancipation from capitalist exploitation and ushering in a new era of prosperity, peace and socialism.

If British labor were to cast off its profiteering, imperialist ruling class, this would be only the beginning of a chain-reaction which would spread immediately to the enslaved continent of Europe and the colonies and to the United States as well.

How far the British Labor Party can go toward achieving the ideal of world labor depends upon many things: (1) how far the Labor Party itself pushes its avowed program of nationalization of basic industry and banking, (2) how militantly the British workers press for a solution of their problems, (3) how strongly British and world reaction wage a counter-fight against the Labor Party and (4) how swiftly world labor advances toward social change.

### GRAVE PROBLEMS FOR LABOR

The tasks that confront the British workers and the British Labor Party are immeasurably difficult. British imperialism, although on the victor's side in the war, emerges in little better position than a vanquished power. She is debt-ridden as a result of the war. She suffered tremendous physical destruction through the bombing raids during the war. She who lives by international trade, has lost many of her markets in the war. Six years of war have resulted in a heavy loss of markets and credits. Being the oldest capitalist nation, Britain finds herself handicapped with antiquated machines and factories, which add to her difficulties in competing with the United States, her chief economic rival.

This is the legacy that Tory imperialism bequeaths to the Labor Party. Such a heritage—which produced the poverty, slums and bombed-out houses of the English working class—is the major reason that that working class put the Labor Party into office.

Since Britain is so nearly bankrupt, she depends upon foreign loans and economic concessions to prime the pump of British industry. Foreign loans come exclusively from the United States, the seat of world financial power. The abrupt cessation of lend-lease, therefore, was an unbearable blow to both British capitalism and the new Labor régime in England.

Sir Stafford Cripps, new president

of the Board of Trade, warned that "If lend-lease were cut off at once, obviously it would be a difficult problem to get enough imports to keep us alive, much less provide us with beautiful clothes."

U. S. generosity is tied to its purse-strings, and as long as lend-lease served the common interest of England and America to defeat the Axis, American aid was forthcoming. Now American capital is racing its rival

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## Seattle Boilermakers End No-Strike Pledge

SEATTLE, August 24.—In yesterday's biggest and most enthusiastic meeting Seattle's boilermakers have had for many months, Local 104, AFL, made history. In a series of decisions, the local took the lead in laying a firm groundwork for effective and militant action in protecting labor's interests in the immediate post-war period.

Highlighting the meeting was a unanimous decision to rescind the no-strike pledge. This action was directly provoked by the Navy step of forcing enlisted personnel of the Ship Repair Unit to work at civilian tasks in a Seattle shipyard. Thus, the boilermakers are the first in this area to scrap a pledge which has hindered all organized labor ever since it was

By SUSAN GREEN

The hearings going on before the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on the Wagner-Murray so-called full employment bill were summarized by Frederick R. Barkley in the New York Times as follows:

"As developments go so far, almost everyone on Capitol Hill agrees that full employment in the post-war period is desirable, although there are indications to the effect that it is also desirable to have a few persons looking for work which they cannot get, because of the expected salutary effect on the output of others who have got their post-war jobs."

In other words, while most of the witnesses before the committee agreed "in principle" to the "desirability" of full employment, there are naturally those who would like an army of unemployed—not too big, of course—but big enough to knock down wages and weaken the labor movement.

In the latter group is Senator Taft, Republican from Ohio, and the Republican New York Herald Tribune, which is convinced

that the bill's "potentialities for harm are decidedly greater than those for good." So is the Democratic New York Times opposed to the bill because it "rests essentially upon a basic distrust of private enterprise." And glowering their die-hard opposition stand the powerful aggregations of Republican and Democratic capitalists in the National Association of Manufacturers and the United States Chamber of Commerce.

### EVERYBODY'S FOR IT

Nevertheless, those in favor form quite a list. President Truman, who considers full employment legislation a "must," was upheld by cabinet members Vinson, Byrnes, Anderson and in this week's hearings Wallace will add his voice. CIO President Phil Murray is in basic accord—and AFL President Green will undoubtedly express similar sentiments before the committee. James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers Union, is for passage. Churchmen and professors are on the list and so are representatives of the veteran organizations. There is Senator Tobey, Republican from New Hampshire, accepting what he termed the "leftward" tendency. And to climax the list of those in favor are the "liberal" merchants, manufacturers and bankers—all staunch believers in "free private enterprise."

Shall we say that the ayes have it, that full employment is in the bag, that 60,000,000 workers can toss their hats into the air and dance a jig because their main worry is over?

The recommendation of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party is that the hat-tossing and jiggling had better be deferred. The workers cannot rely on the capitalist system, the capitalist government or a piece of legislation projected by capitalist politicians to solve the basic evils of the private profit system. Let us have a look at this Wagner-Murray bill so optimistically called the full employment bill.

### PROVISIONS OF BILL

If passed, this bill would more or less establish as a government policy that workers are entitled to jobs. To this end the President would, at the beginning of each annual session of Congress, present a "national production and employment budget" giving

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## FOR A GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE AND JOBS FOR ALL!

### Workers Party Program for Organized Labor

#### FOR THE UNEMPLOYED AND VETERANS

1. Full unemployment insurance beginning with \$30 a week for single men and women and graduated upward for dependents to all workers for whom government and industry do not find jobs.

2. Absorption of all workers thrown into unemployment during reconversion by reduction of the work-week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay.

3. Two years' base pay grant to all demobilized veterans, with the option of trade school and higher educational facilities at government expense, guarantee of adequate family maintenance and guarantee of decent jobs.

#### FOR THE POST-WAR PERIOD:

4. A job for every worker with a guaranteed minimum annual wage of \$2,500 per year. A rising standard of living, by means of government planning to insure the highest national production and income.

5. A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the na-

tional income and a thirty-hour maximum work week.

#### THESE AIMS TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH:

6. A \$250 billion five-year program to provide decent housing for all, extensive public works, rural electrification and modification.

7. Conscription of all war industries, nationalization of the banks, big industrial monopolies and transportation systems, and no handing over of government-built and owned plants and facilities to private ownership.

8. A 100 per cent tax on all war profits above a five per cent maximum on invested capital; a \$25,000 ceiling on total individual income, and a graduated capital levy on all accumulated wealth over \$50,000 to cover war costs and provide post-war security for labor.

#### THIS PROGRAM TO BE CARRIED OUT BY:

9. Control of production by democratically elected workers' committees.

10. An independent Labor Party and a workers' government.

## Lifting "Little Steal"

By V. P. JENSEN

With the complacent generosity of John D. Rockefeller handing out shiny new dimes, George W. Taylor, chairman of the War Labor Board, has announced that the Little Steal wage ceiling formula has been lifted.

Any employer may now grant any pay increases providing they do not entail higher prices for his product. And with the triumphant mien of St. George fresh from slaying his dragon, Mr. Taylor further announced that wages could not be cut without WLB approval, glancing around as if to say to a somewhat cynical American labor movement, "There, you see, we've really been in there pitching for you all along."

This anti-climactical announcement should burst upon the American labor scene with somewhat less than atomic bomb effect. As any one of the several million workers facing reconversion unemployment could ably explain to even a government official with a seven-year-old mentality, this WLB ruling will be as helpful as one of John D.'s shiny dimes to a starving family.

Several million workers face immediate unemployment as war contracts are being cancelled. The generosity of employers who are fighting full employment and adequate unemployment compensation tooth and nail so that they can go back to the days of a large pool of unemployed and therefore cheap labor, is hardly to be counted on. How many employees are going to give pay raises now? The capitalist leopard does not change his spots, grow a

beard and become Santa Claus, even with the encouragement of that notable humanitarian Mr. Taylor.

#### WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

There are 16,000 applications before the Board for voluntary wage increases that may be granted now, the Board announces, without letting us into the secret of how many of those plants will still be in business. If every one of these wage increases were granted, it would hardly be a drop in the bucket of the problem of maintaining the standard of living of American workers, which is the avowed purpose of the new ruling.

For those who are still working, the WLB announces that it precludes wage cuts. This, however, does not mean that employers are not permitted to downgrade workers or cut hours. Furthermore, there are six hundred appeals pending before the

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## Gates Tours For Workers Party

As part of the Workers Party expansion and recruitment program, Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, will make a tour of the Midwest and Eastern cities. Gates will speak in all cities on the problems of reconversion and jobs for all, in which the reconversion program of the Workers Party will be the feature theme.

Beginning in Syracuse on September 14, the tour will take Gates to the important industrial centers of the Midwest, up to the Iron Range of Minnesota. He will return to cover meetings in Philadelphia and Reading on October 7 and 8.

While on tour, special attention will be paid to the organization of Labor Action Clubs, made up of readers of LABOR ACTION and its sympathizers. All cities listed in the schedule are requested to take note and begin preparations now for Gates' meetings.

#### GATES TOUR SCHEDULE

Syracuse, Sept. 14; Buffalo, Sept. 15, 16; Detroit, Sept. 17, 18, 19, 20; Chicago, Sept. 21, 22; Streator, Sept. 23; Chicago, Sept. 24, 25; Madison, Sept. 26; Hibbing, Sept. 28; St. Louis, Sept. 30; Akron, Oct. 1, 2; Cleveland, Oct. 3, 4; Philadelphia, Oct. 7; Reading, Oct. 8.

## Ship Union Takes Lead in Job Fight

CAMDEN—Some 15,000 workers left their jobs here early last week to engage in a demonstration against lay-offs and for the 30 hour week with 48 hours pay. The demonstration was called by local 1 of the CIO Shipbuilders Union (IUMSWA) which covers the immense New York Shipbuilding Co. yards.

The demonstration marched through the streets of Camden with banners and sound truck. Some 5,000 gathered in City Hall Square at the conclusion of the demonstration and heard Andrew Reeder, president of the local, call for a 30 hour week and 48 hours pay based on government subsidies. Reeder intimated that this was only the beginning of militant actions by the New York ship workers whose heroic strikes of 10 years ago laid the foundations for the national organization of shipbuilding workers in the industrial union.

PHILADELPHIA — The 30 hour week with 48 hours pay, financed by a government subsidy, and the need for an independent Labor Party—the two most crucial questions facing the American workingclass today—were debated here last week at the regular monthly meeting of the Industrial Union Council of the CIO.

The debate took place on the basis of resolutions on these questions introduced by Local 42 of the CIO Shipbuilders Union (IUMSWA). Both resolutions had been adopted by a membership meeting of Local 42 on August 19th as the first step in the local's campaign against lay-offs and cuts in take-home pay.

The resolution on wage subsidies asks that the government subsidize the 18 hours difference to permit workers to earn a full 48 hour check while working 30 hours a week. The resolution points out that the government took great concern to subsidize industry during the war to assure it the profits it thought neces-

sary for operation. It further argues that "government provided tax refunds that will assure normal profits for at least two post-war years, as well as subsidies to many industries which claimed not to be making sufficiently high profits."

Basing itself upon the precedent set in subsidizing industry and pointing out that labor has a far greater reason for demanding subsidies, the resolution concludes "that our Government immediately institute a national thirty hour work week with government funds to bridge the gap between this rate of pay and the forty-eight hour take-home pay prevalent through most industry until recent mass lay-offs."

#### CONTENT OF RESOLUTION

The resolution points out a means by which labor can fight for this demand by boldly calling for a National Labor Holiday "in which all labor will demonstrate for the above program which means, 'Jobs for All NOW,' and at living wages, and that

this entire campaign be waged until victory is won on the fundamental ground that there is nothing more important or urgent than the right of the men, women, and children of our great country to "Freedom From Want" and "Jobs Now."

The resolution was rejected by a vote of 33 to 25 on show of hands. A roll call poll of the delegations resulted in 397 against and 230 for. The resolution was opposed by the argument that the Council go on record endorsing the reconversion program of the CIO. Those who spoke in opposition to the subsidy plan took the position that it was up to the Council to stand behind official CIO policy on national questions.

The vote showed a significant gain in the strength of the progressive bloc in the Council. The Local 42 delegation, which has for some time spearheaded all progressive fights, was supported by four locals of the Steelworkers, the Transport Workers Union, locals 113, 118, and 119 of the

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NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE LABOR FRONT

# Labor Notes from the Northwest

SEATTLE—Opposition to the proposed plan of Seattle's police department to buy a fleet of armored cars (as reported in the August 13 issue of LABOR ACTION) is mounting. Among the unions to protest this plan were the Building Service Employees, the Lumber and Sawmill Workers, the Boilermakers, and the Seattle AFL Metal Trades Council.

Exposing the anti-labor policies of the Seattle police department, the paper "Workers Action" in its August issue quotes from an instruction course by Seattle's police Captain Vallet:

"Above all things, never BLUFF. Never permit the use of unloaded weapons or blank cartridges. Never fire over the heads of rioters. If any one is to be hurt, it should be the rioters . . ."

SEQUENCE OF FORCE: (1) Physical presence of police, (2) Police clubs or batons, (3) Chemical tear gas, (4) Shotguns, (5) Revolvers . . .

"When it is necessary to use chemical tear gas and smoke, always use in ample quantity . . ."

"Whatever force is reasonably requisite is lawful . . ."

Thus, Seattle's police, like the police of every other major American city, is geared for action against anticipated "labor trouble." And experience teaches us that what they call "trouble" are usually peaceful picket lines, which the police will attempt to break with force and violence.

Now organized labor in Seattle recognizes the danger of this condition. But all resolutions, all protests, all newspaper articles in labor news have, so far, only resulted in cynical professions of innocence from police and city officials. "Don't worry about my big teeth, they're only to eat you with . . ."

And as long as Seattle's unions take the attitude that "politics are none of our business," the city government will be able to act as it

pleases. As long as the political control of the capitalist politicians goes unchallenged, the capitalist owners of industry will be able to use all government agencies, including the po-

lice, in their own interests against labor.

To be effective, labor's struggle against police violence must be brought to a political level. The very

## BOILERMAKERS' RESOLUTIONS

Whereas projected peacetime production is to be on a much lower level than wartime production, involving layoffs and unemployment on an unprecedented scale; and

Whereas this situation is sharpened by the return of ten million service men and the fact that the retooling of industry to peacetime production will inevitably introduce improved labor-saving production methods; and

Whereas neither industry nor the government have given adequate assurances that those to be thrown out of work will ever again be rehired;

Be it further resolved that Local 104 demand an immediate introduction of the thirty-hour week without reduction in basic take-home pay; and

Be it further resolved that our union shall insist on this demand before agreeing to the layoff of a single worker; and

Be it further resolved that our union shall enter into immediate negotiations with companies under 104 contracts, for the purpose of enforcing our proposal; and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the Seattle Metal Trades Council, Northwest Boilermakers Council, West Coast Metal Trades Council, the Northwest Boilermakers Council, and other West Coast Ship Buildings, as well as to the national offices of the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brother-

hoods and the United Mine Workers, urging similar action.

Whereas, with government guarantees on profits and a Little Steel formula straightjacket on wages, wartime sacrifices were marked by an enforced inequality in favor of the big corporations, and

Whereas this inequality of hardship is brought into the post-war period through government financial sponsorship of reconversion, without adequate guarantees against unemployment,

So therefore be it resolved, that Local 104 demand that the government immediately pass an unemployment compensation bill allowing for a minimum of \$40 per week for the entire period of unemployment, and

Be it further resolved that this resolution be sent to our senators and representatives, to President Truman and to the member of the member of the congressional committee considering such legislation, and

Be it further resolved that copies of this resolution be sent to the Seattle Metal Trades Council, Northwest Boilermakers Council, the West Coast Metal Trades Council and other West Coast Ship Buildings, as well as to the national offices of the AFL, the CIO, the Railroad Brother-

hoods and the United Mine Workers, urging similar action.

### By B. DONALDSON

SEATTLE—Fifteen hundred members of the Steamfitters Union went out on strike in the Seattle shipyards over the allocation of work to the Coppersmiths' Union.

Workers in the yards are asking, "Will Labor gain by this dispute? Will we get any more jobs or any more take-home pay? Isn't this a helluva time for one union to fight against another?"

No wonder Lamont, manager of Todd Pacific, can sit back and say that "the company is not a party to the dispute." But under his breath he is probably saying, "Go ahead, boys, as long as you fight over the few jobs we have to hand out, you won't be hitting me up for a 30-hour week, with no reduction in pay, or for double time for Saturday."

The Metal Trades Council functioned fairly well to unite the many shippard unions as long as work was plentiful. Now that layoffs have come, the Steamfitters' union has forsaken the struggle of the workers for jobs for all, for a struggle only in their own narrow interests.

The dispute between the Steamfitters and the Coppersmiths should show to every worker the need for an industrial union, where steamfitters and coppersmiths, boiler makers and machinists, sheet metal workers and scalers can unite to demand that the capitalists who own the yards furnish jobs for all by reducing the work week.

## IN DETROIT

To the Editor, LABOR ACTION

Dear Sir: I am one of the quarter of a million "reconverted" job veterans so far in Detroit. The end came so fast—like a light going out when you push the button—that it left me a little dizzy and I had no little, trouble finding my way to the nearest 8-hour-long unemployment insurance line. I finally got there by following the crowd.

"This great 'free enterprise' (which the capitalists dumped into the garbage can when they had to produce for war) sets you 'free' from work, no doubt, and sure demands plenty of 'enterprise' to live on 20 dollars a week (if you get it).

Last Monday, I had a job. Why? Because the government bought the stuff we made and guaranteed the company's profits. Thursday, after a two-day celebration, I report to work and find a lock on the gate. "Sorry, boys, we're reconverting." The company was not sorry for itself, but for us poor suckers. The government had guaranteed them millions in profits for "liding over" purposes in the reconversion. We have to scrub along, at the old prices, on 20 miserable dollars a week.

The government took care of the company for reconversion, it gave them a nice million dollar "cushion." Why doesn't the government give us workers a "cushion" in the form of a living wage during the reconversion? Even an idiot of an apple-polishing line-foreman should see the answer; because it's their government, not our government and what we need is a workers' government that will work for us.

And after reconversion? My company told us they didn't know how many of the seven thousand men they'd need after they started on a peace-product. In other words, no guaranteed profits, no guaranteed jobs. Now, as before the war, what keeps the plants down or partially working is the boss' greed for profits. For war work, the government plans production and the output is amazing. Each company works according to a central master plan. For peace, each company is let loose like a capitalist wolf in search of fat, profitable lambs; each capitalist is on his own and the devil take the workingman.

I write you this letter after spending eight hours registering for unemployment compensation. Surprise! Of course, no one expected there would be any layoffs and unemployment so no plans were made for speedy processing of claims! What else has a worker to do but to kill 8 hours in order to answer two minutes of questions? In the small things as in the big things, the worker gets the dirty end of the stick. And this worker for one is fed up and wants to turn that stick around for a change.

## IN NEW YORK

Dear Editor:

After covering the private agencies for a job, I reported to the Unemployment Insurance Office to register. The small room was crowded and humid. I filled out an application along with many others. An elderly lady standing near me had a rather frightened look upon her face. I asked her what the trouble was and she replied: "I don't think I know

how to fill this out." I filled the blank out for her and had her sign her name. She wasn't the only one in such a predicament. Many people found it difficult and were searching for help. People were afraid to stop because the lines were getting longer.

There were many lines, all of them long, and no indication as to which one to stand in. There were no chairs available for the long wait. Women were holding babies. They no longer had jobs and couldn't afford to leave the children in nurseries. Elderly men and women were waiting two hours in line before reaching a desk only to be told, very often: "You're on the wrong line" or "This office doesn't take care of your district." Then another long wait.

While on line a woman told how she had been to the USES in the morning, waited three hours, and didn't get near an information desk. These people all worked steadily for the past few years, paid their money into the social security fund and now they are pushed from one line to another, from one office to another.

In order to collect money that belongs to you, which you've paid in regularly, you must patiently wait one day a week at USES and another day a week at the Unemployment Insurance Office. The money is given out as though it were a handout, not as though it belonged to us.

At USES the clerks inform all that they can't expect to get the rates they've been getting, but must take twenty and thirty cents less an hour. And if they don't want that, or want to look on their own for possible jobs they can't collect the unemployment insurance check every week.

# Local 365 Wins Union Fight

NEW YORK—On Thursday, August 23, Gould-Mersereau workers, recently organized by UAW Local 365, won the first round of their fight for union recognition, better working conditions, and job security. On the first working day in peacetime, this hardware and drapery company laid off 90 of its 200 employees, many out of seniority. These layoffs were not the result of the ending of war contracts but part of the company's concerted effort to break the union by breaking the morale of the workers.

This company in its forty years of existence has never had to deal with a union. Their aim was to make the workers ready to go back to sweatshop conditions by making them fearful of losing their jobs. But Gould-Mersereau and company did not count on opposition of its workers. The action of the company in the layoffs raised the fighting spirit of the workers, both those still in the shop and those laid off. The layoff was one provocation too many when everyone in the shop knew that for the past year at least 50 percent of its production was civilian goods.

The union membership met on the day of the layoffs and voted to go on strike to protest the lockout of half the workers and the refusal of the company to bargain with the union. The Local and the Regional Office of UAW authorized and supported this strike. On Monday the plant was 100 percent shut down by the workers. The workers picketed the shop for four days with support of other 365 shops. No one crossed the picket line except a few foremen (most of the foremen agreed to stay out), two company stooges and six scabs.

On the fourth day, Thursday, Aug. 23, the company lawyer and the union negotiating committee met before the NLRB. The union negotiating committee won. The company signed a statement recognizing the UAW-CIO as the bargaining agent for all the workers in the shop which the company had refused to do ever since the UAW-CIO won the NLRB election on May 15, 1945. The company agreed to start bargaining on the contract. The company agreed to give the union seniority list, job

descriptions, and classification of each worker in the shop.

Contract negotiations began on Monday. Some of the demands of the union have already been met as a result of the strike: seniority, job descriptions, classification of each worker. The demands of the union now are: vacations, sick leave, six paid holidays, and a general raise of ten to fifteen cents. July 1 has been set as the retroactive date. The prevailing rates for women in the shop are 65 cents to 72 cents. The average rate of the men is 80 cents to 85 cents though a few top men get 95 cents and the toolmakers get \$1.65. These rates are not the top rates according to wage scales which the company has approved by the WLB.

Local 365 has once more shown the way. Fight for jobs and job security. When Gould-Mersereau hires again every union member will get back his job. Without the union the company could hire non-union people at below union wages.

# Quit Stalling on Jobs - -

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ing estimates of the total labor force available for the next fiscal year and how much private and public investment would be necessary to keep it employed. Then the President would recommend to Congress certain measures to be taken to keep up full employment. This is, roughly, all that the bill provides—except, of course, that it supports the system of private enterprise.

We will let two of the witnesses who support the bill, in principle, show up its obvious flimsiam.

Phil Murray, for instance, has his doubts. At the hearing he offered certain amendments. He wants the bill to express government "responsibility" rather than only government "policy." He wants the definite word "insuring" to be substituted for the ambiguous words "promoting" and "encouraging" with which the bill is sprinkled. And he wants the right to work extended to all persons "able to work and seeking work" instead of, as the bill provides, to "all Americans who have finished their schooling and who do not have full-time house-keeping responsibilities." Obviously, this so-called full employment bill discriminates against young people and women. Why the word "Americans" instead of "workers?" And how naive of Murray to think a few amendments will fix everything!

Neither is James G. Patton of the Farmers Union satisfied with the bill as it stands. He wants it to go further and calls for a "guaranty" that Congress would authorize Federal expenditure on whatever projects the President declared necessary to make the national economy run at full employment. With Congress controlling the purse strings of the nation and the big business lobbies controlling Congress, certainly the fear is amply justified that the money needed for public projects will not be forthcoming. And with this set-up, what good would a "guaranty" be?

While witnesses nearer labor than the "liberal" merchants, manufacturers and banks show some doubts and misgivings, from the latter came rather unqualified support. F. R. Von Windeger, St. Louis banker, expressed the opinion: "I think we are leaning over backward to help private enterprise in this bill." Clarence Avidsen, president of Republic Drill & Ore Company, Chicago, admitted the bankruptcy of "free enterprise" in stating: "Everyone knows that the business man cannot guarantee continuous employment for his workers. This business man welcomes the responsibility of government for full employment—to bolster private enterprise. He fears that otherwise the American people would vote for a change 'just as they did in England.'"

So the proponents of the bill are not unanimous. On closer view we see that while the "liberal" merchants, manufacturers and bankers regard the Wagner-Murray bill as a means to thwart labor's rise to power to take over of its own interests, Murray and Patton, while supporting it, still think the bill doesn't go far enough to protect the interests of

labor and by reflection the interests of the farmer.

## WORKERS PARTY PROGRAM

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party do not rely on the capitalist system, the capitalist government or a piece of legislation projected by capitalist politicians to solve the basic contradictions of the private profit system. (See Workers Party Program, page one). Unlike Murray who shook his finger at the Senate Committee and warned that "the people will recognize the failure of private capitalism" if the bill is not passed, LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party recognize now the failure of capitalism which has already proved itself unable to give the people either eco-

nomie security or peace. Therefore, labor must project its own demands for full employment. It must furthermore be ready to enter the political arena with a class party of its own, to fight for its own program.

The first protection against unemployment is a guaranteed annual wage for every worker. It should be a minimum of \$2,500, which is indeed a mere pittance in this day and age. The principle that men, women and children have to live regardless of the profits of the capitalists, must be abolished once and for all time. The guaranteed annual wage is the way.

Let profit be limited to five percent on invested capital—instead of up to five hundred percent and more. Let individual capitalists be limited to \$25,000 annual income—ten times as

much as demanded for a worker's guaranteed annual wage should be plenty for any man.

At the hearing Murray hedged around another demand that labor must make. He said: "If the plants are not soon started up to make jobs and turn out goods, the average citizen is going to ask: 'Well, why doesn't the government hire engineers and managers to operate those factories the way it was done during the war?'" Is that the way for a leader of labor to talk? Why does he not now make the demand for the nationalization of big industry to make jobs and turn out goods?

## NATIONALIZE BIG BUSINESS!

LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party make the demand NOW that no government-owned plants be turned over to private capital and also that big business be nationalized to be run for use instead of for profit. Furthermore, we want this done by a workers' government and we want the industries put under workers' control. We don't want the same old skin game with a new pack of cards.

Another demand made by LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party stands out in contrast to the following:

At the hearings before the Senate Committee T. J. S. Waxler, Chairman of the National Committee on Public Social Policies, said: "The war has taught me that if we spend \$300,000,000,000 making war goods to be shot away, we can at least spend a small part of that sum to experiment on how to make a peacetime economy produce as fully as the wartime economy has." Such a statement, while sounding good, is really an insult to the working men and women who are worrying about unemployment. Why should \$300,000,000,000 be shot away for war and only "a small part" be spent for peace? LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party don't see why as much and more should not be spent for peace.

Therefore, we demand a \$200,000,000,000 public building and construction program for the next five years, to provide jobs for workers and more and better housing and public facilities for the whole people. Where will the money come from? A capital levy on accumulated wealth. Let the rich who were made richer by bloody war profits, disgorge. Let those who have appropriated the wealth of the land be made to give up for the public good.

That Murray, Green and the other labor leaders do not come out for all these sober and attainable demands, but instead stand shaking their fingers at Senate Committees warning the latter that the workers will make these demands if the capitalist government doesn't throw them a bone—means that such false and timid leaders are behind the times.

The rank-and-file of labor, in its march for a better life, must bypass its false and timid leaders. The program of LABOR ACTION and the Workers Party fit the needs of the day. It should be supported by all progressive workers.

## New York Elections - -

(Continued from page 1)

talist parties, the working class parties must stick together. In this particular fight, the SWP and the SP have also won the right to appear on the ballot in the coming elections.

The campaign of the Workers Party will now center around the popularization of our program, and in the course of this we hope through debate with other candidates and parties to show the superiority of our program.

## Lifting "Little Steel" - -

(Continued from page 1)

board, to which the Little Steel formula will still be applied. And if any nasty employer disregards the WLB's pious plea not to cut wage rates, well, Mr. Taylor has made it quite clear that the Board will not ask for any disciplinary action in the post-war period. And even this pitiful ruling against wage-cuts applies only until next June 30.

For too long, for four long wartime years, a powerful American labor movement, the strongest in history, permitted its hands to be tied by the War Labor Board and its observance of the No Strike Pledge, while the capitalists raked in golden profits and post-war reserves. Now that the war is over, the capitalists sit back on their fat reserves, labor faces a bitter period of unemployment and depression, and the WLB throws them this bare bone of sustenance, the belated lifting of the inequitable Little Steel formula, at a time when it has no meaning.

The substandard minimum wage in this country is fifty-five cents an hour. Congress vacations as cutbacks send the country zooming into mass unemployment. And the War Labor Board fiddles with the lifting of the Little Steel formula.

## LABOR'S FIGHT

The American labor movement faces an unprecedented crisis. A decent

standard of living for American workers is at stake. The unions, now before it is too late, must fight for full employment and jobs for all at a guaranteed annual wage. They must turn their backs on such government agencies as the WLB and the government which instituted such agencies to keep wages down.

On the economic front, the immediate period must see militant trade union struggles against the attempts to cut wage rates, and union standards no matter by what ruse. And this struggle can only have meaning if labor organizes itself politically to fight for a government that can plan for full employment, for jobs for all at a decent standard of living.

American workers must organize their own independent labor party to put into power their own government, one that can organize society rationally for peace as well as war. Otherwise, they can only expect such meaningless gestures towards the solution of the problem of maintaining a decent standard of living as this one of the War Labor Board, which in peacetime as in wartime fulfills its function of heading off labor's demands.

## Shachtman, Gates, Lund, Speak at W. P. Meetings

A New York audience of two hundred and fifty people heard Max Shachtman, national secretary of the Workers Party and candidate for Mayor of that city, analyze the recent election victories of the British Labor Party at a meeting on Friday, August 17.

Shachtman emphasized that the tremendous vote given to the Labor Party by British workers, middle-class elements and servicemen represented a desire for a thoroughgoing change in the social and economic structure of Great Britain, a desire for socialism. The election victory, he predicted, would lead to a resurgence of militancy among the British working class as well as those of Europe and the colonial peoples of the British Empire.

In the United States, Shachtman pointed out, these election results should spur on the drive for independent political action on the part of American labor.

The audience responded to a call for financial support for the New York election campaign of the Workers Party with a donation of \$247 and bought two hundred copies of the first Shachtman-for-Mayor election campaign pamphlet, "How to Get Jobs for All," to distribute among their shopmates.

Friday night's public meeting of the Philadelphia branch again demonstrated how effectively the program and ideas of the Workers Party are being accepted and responded to by the forward-looking militants of that area.

Despite the usual lack of co-operation of the weather man, an audience of fifty came to listen to Max Shachtman, who was ill, and instead heard Albert Gates, editor of LABOR ACTION, and Ernest Lund, managing editor of The New International.

Gates emphasized the inability of

capitalism to solve the problems of the majority of the people—to afford a decent standard of living, freedom from want, job security and permanent peace. He pointed out that only a society governed by the working men and women who create all the wealth can do these things.

Comrade Lund urged all of those who realize the necessity of building a better world to join the Workers Party. "Its program and principles are the tools to do the job," he said. "Your hands must wield those tools." He spoke of the gratification and spiritual satisfaction in fighting for ideals which give promise of a new world of plenty for all.

During the question period the keen interest of the audience was apparent. Quantities of literature were sold and several interest blanks were handed in.

Los Angeles Readers:

**ATOMIC POWER— FOR DESTRUCTION OR SOCIALISM?**

SPEAKER: HAL DRAPER

Los Angeles Embassy Auditorium 843 S. Grand, Room 201

Friday, September 14, 8:00 P. M.

Seattle - -

(Continued from page 1)

straight-jacket on wages, war-time sacrifices were marked by an enforced inequality in favor of the big corporations . . . this inequality of hardship is brought into the post-war period through government financial sponsorship of reconversion without adequate guarantees against unemployment . . .

Yes, the bosses of the Northwest really took a beating last night. In another stiffly worded resolution on the 30-hour week, the union declared that "before agreeing to the layoff of a single worker" it will "insist on . . . the immediate introduction of the thirty-hour week, without reduction in the basic 48-hour take-home pay."

A further motion, passed unanimously, drew swift resistance from 18th Naval District headquarters. The union decided to return to its pre-war policy of demanding double time for all overtime, with all Saturdays and Sundays automatically considered as such.

NEW YORK READERS:

**MAX SHACHTMAN**

Workers Party Mayorality

Candidate, Speaks on

**Origin and Meaning of World War II**

First in a Series of Four Meetings to be held on the Roof Terrace of the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43rd Street. Tickets \$1.00 for series at 114 West 14th Street.

A PAPER IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR

Published Weekly by the Labor Action Publishing Ass'n

114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Vol. 9, No. 36

September 3, 1945

CH. 2-9681 (Third Floor)

ALBERT GATES, Editor MARY BELL, Ass't Editor

Subscription Rate: 60c a Year; 35c for 6 Mos. (75c-40c for Canada, Foreign, New York City, Bronx) Re-entered as Second Class Matter, May 24, 1940, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y. Under the Act of March 3, 1879



One-Tenth of the Nation

British Labor and the Colonies

By J. R. Johnson

GERALD L. K. SMITH

America's No. 1 Fascist

By HAL DRAPER

Smith Spreads Race Hate

Gerald Smith says he is against race hatred—when he has to say something about it. But the mark of the beast is unmistakable. He bellows that what we need is a "Christian America," a "Christian government," "Christian patriotism," with a none-too-subtle version of the anti-Semitism and racism without which no Fascist demagogue has a complete line of wares.

According to the magazine Current History for October, 1936, Smith in that year sponsored a movement to boycott the Jewish merchants of New Orleans. It failed only because the reorganized Long machine did not go for it.

He interlards every speech with anti-Semitic jibes. They used to be more veiled. Mark this: it is a fact that especially his closed meetings in Los Angeles have been more crudely and vilely Jew-baiting even than his wont. As this pamphlet goes to press, his very latest one at the Ham 'n' Egg Hall was largely turned into an anti-Semitic tirade! Here is this self-styled "Christian" at work on July 16, speaking to his "faithful":

"I have been accused of saying that 95% of OPA violations are by Jews. I never said that. It is probably not more than 92 1/2%."

"Obscenity is a natural characteristic of the Jews."

"The Jews maintain a Gestapo to spy on me and other Christian Americans."

"When I see an evil-smelling, long-nosed, bearded, filthy Jew reeking of body odor and call him a 'kike,' am I being anti-Semitic?"

"They're still the Christ-killers... The Jews put pressure on the Roman government to crucify Christ."

"The Jews are largely not descended from the Israelites of the Bible. They are sprung from a tribe of roving bandits."

"One day," he has said, "someone will write a book about how to make an anti-Semite. It will be the story of my life."

This is the man who denies that he is a Jew-baiter! He denied that he had incited the Detroit racial pogrom—but he begins to stir up the hornet's nest of anti-Negro prejudice at his very first big rally in Los Angeles. It can be predicted with scientific precision that if he stays in this area long enough, we will be hearing from him about the Mexican people also.

Race hatred is a favorite weapon of these Fascist rabble-rousers because it is a device to pit one section of labor against another. Divide and rule! Let the discontented take out their anger on racial minorities, and Big Business is safe. This is why Labor must build and unite its forces regardless of race, color, and religious or political creed.

But before our indignation runs away with us at this spectacle of warped, hate, and hideous lies, let us make a sober estimate of what Smith is. He has been called a crackpot. He has been called a purveyor of "foreign isms." He has been called a Fascist. And he is.

But we should be very clear about our understanding of these accusations. We must understand him in order to fight him effectively.

Is Smith a "Crackpot"?

In the first place, it is a grave mistake to put him down as "merely a crackpot" because of the kind of raving rant which is his specialty on the platform. That is his technique. As a matter of fact, Smith has often referred to himself as a "rabble-rouser." It means a demagogue who tries to sweep an audience into hysterical emotion without thought. He is as proud of that special skill as a machinist is of his control of the lathe. To take one example only, he has told an interviewer:

"I'm an isolationist. I'm the organizer and leader of the America First Party. Oh, I'm a rabble-rouser. Put that down—a rabble-rouser. God made me a rabble-rouser. God made me a rabble-rouser of and for the Right. Better spell that word Right with a capital R..." (Colliers, Mar. 4, 1944.)

In speaking, he lashes his 220 pounds into a fury of shouting, hysterical denunciations, emotional appeals and vivid phrases, till he is bathed in sweat and his enormous expenditure of energy has prevented the hearer from remembering that he is saying nothing at all.

It is a technique. He has found that it works. Remember that.

A crackpot? A warped reactionary mind—yes. But that is why he is dangerous.

It was a crackpot like Smith, with the same technique, who seized power in Germany, launched his bloody terror and made good his threat that "heads will roll in the street." Hitler was called a crackpot by millions of good people—who understood nothing of what he was getting at. Mussolini was called a posing buffoon. Their work was made easier because of the people who sneered and said "Pay no attention."

In the second place, don't be fooled by your own words when you refer to Smith's ideas as a "foreign ism." It is perfectly true that Smith is an ape-like imitation of Adolf Hitler. It is perfectly true that we are used to thinking of fascism as existing somewhere overseas but not here in this country.

But don't try to base a real understanding of Smith on the belief that he is merely a stooge of foreign fascism. The CIO Council has rightly called for an investigation of Smith, but don't be too disappointed if he turns out to have had no direct foreign connections. As a matter of fact, Smith has already been investigated three times and the FBI is reported to have been unable to find any evidence of any substantial link with Nazism or foreign influence.

For Smith really IS NOT essentially an agent for any foreign fascism. He looks for support not from abroad but from the Sixty Families of THIS country's plutocracy. He counts on THEM to put him into power. He is the "Made in U. S." dyed-in-the-wool, blown-in-the-bottle, homegrown, native AMERICAN VARIETY of Hitlerite!

The field for fascism is a fertile one in this country. The soil has been tilled. The same moneyed interests are here to further it in their own interests. The defeat of Hitler in Europe changes none of that.

Editorials

No Labor Candidate In Detroit Elections

Richard T. Frankenstein, a vice-president of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, is a candidate for Mayor in the industrial heart of the United States, Detroit. He received the highest vote in the primary election. Currently he is campaigning against the incumbent Mayor Jeffries in the runoff election.

There is no doubt that many Detroit unionists and workers in general voted for Frankenstein as a "labor man." Because he is an official of the largest union in the CIO he makes a tremendous appeal to the workers as against a corrupt, anti-labor municipal administration which has rightly earned the hatred of both Negro and white workers. In addition, he has the support of the labor-organized Political Action Committee.

Labor has shown again, in the Detroit primaries, just as it demonstrated in the last national election, that it yields tremendous power at the polls when it votes in an organized way, as it did under the direction and persuasion of the PAC.

NOT A LABOR CANDIDATE

That is why it is so deplorable that the powerful Detroit labor movement has not put up a genuine independent candidate running on a Labor Party program to challenge the capitalist parties in the mayoralty campaign!

For Frankenstein is not a labor candidate. The "non-partisan" character of the Detroit elections should fool no one. Frankenstein, whose nomination was put in by a friend as a personal favor and not in consultation with his union or even the PAC, is a leading member of the Democratic Party of the state of Michigan and is pledged to its program and patronage.

As if to dispel any doubts about his candidacy, Frankenstein himself iterates and reiterates that he is not "a labor candidate," nor will he be a "labor mayor" if elected.

Frankenstein's program is not that of a genuine labor candidate. With his talk about housing and cleaning the rats out of Detroit, his program is no way distinguished from that of his rival for office.

Frankenstein is merely continuing in politics the role he has played in the labor movement. Thousands of workers remember his servility to government agencies throughout the war and his defeatist policies before the anti-labor drive of the big corporations.

The past history of the American labor movement is studded with examples like that of Frankenstein—where a labor official has run on a Democratic, Republican or so-called non-partisan ticket, garnering the labor vote for the same old capitalist program. If the same Frankenstein, however, were a candidate of a Labor Party and thereby subject to its program and control, we would support him.

The Militant, organ of the Socialist Workers Party, supports Frankenstein's candidacy on the basis that "with sound class instincts, the Detroit workers cast their votes for Frankenstein, not as an individual, but as a representative of the labor movement, as an independent labor candidate in opposition to all the capitalist candidates."

DANGER OF FRANKENSTEIN

The delicate phrasing employed by our contemporary weekly does not accurately portray what the situation in Detroit is. That many workers believed some of these things, is true. But The Militant is anxious in this editorial to express what it believes is true, namely, that Frankenstein is a labor candidate, an independent one at that, "in opposition to all the capitalist candidates."

What will result from such a belief, if it becomes widespread among the workers, is that upon Frankenstein's election a mass disillusionment will follow that could only harm the movement for a Labor Party.

On the day after he took office, Frankenstein would demonstrate what he means when he says he is "not a labor candidate," but a free agent. The professional politicians would then say: "See what you get for supporting an 'independent,' a 'labor' man. You can't trust them. Return to the fold of the good old two-party system." For Frankenstein's real role in this election is to head off, not to promote, the movement of the masses for genuine independent political action.

If labor is to solve any of its problems—full employment, a guaranteed annual wage, security for everyone—it must break once and for all with capitalist politics and with the servants of capital, no matter what their disguise, and form their own political party.

The British workers showed one way to do it. American labor already has the means to do it, by transforming the PAC into a Labor Party. Then, the independent political march of the workers in this country will have begun. Frankenstein does not represent that independent path. The truth is that labor does not have a candidate in the Detroit election for Mayor. Frankenstein is not such a candidate and should not be supported by labor.

China: Battleground Of Imperialism

The war of China against Japan, which began officially eight years ago and unofficially twelve years ago, started as a war of the whole nation against Japanese imperialist enslavement. China was then ruled by a corrupt government concentrated in the hands of reactionary financiers and industrialists led by Generalissimo Chiang. This government and the class it represented enriched itself and the Chinese capitalists by cruelly exploiting the great mass of workers and peasants. Yet because China was a non-imperialist, semi-colonial power, her war against the predatory Japanese was a progressive war deserving the support of world labor.

When the Second World War broke out, it changed the situation fundamentally. China became a member of one of the imperialist camps—a subordinate member, to be sure, completely subservient to the interests of American imperialism. Her role in the war as an anti-imperialist nation was transformed to an imperialist one when she joined one of the imperialist coalitions. Support to China under these new conditions would have meant support to one of the imperialist camps.

The defeat of Japan now poses the question of the future of China. Shall it be a China of workers and peasants, ruled in the interests of all the people, or shall it be a China dominated by foreign imperialism, primarily the United States?

CHINA'S GRAVE DANGER

The situation in China became more complicated when Russia declared war on Japan and announced that her demands on China would include re-establishment of Czarist Russia's interests in Manchuria, the Chinese-Russian railway in that region and occupation of Port Arthur.

Russia has her agents in the form of the Yanan government of the Northwest Province and the so-called Chinese Communist army under General Mao, which is now driving ahead to occupy territories and dispute Chiang's rule over China.

Thus China does not face freedom, peace and security after the long war with Japan, but new wars, new insecurity and new dictatorships. This is true whether Chiang and his gang in the Kuomintang Party or the Stalinists, or both under some form of agreement, control China.

China is becoming a new battleground between two imperialisms, one emanating from Moscow and representing the interests of a new class of bureaucrats who exploit the Russian masses, and the other coming from Washington. Each of these imperialisms seeks its own enrichment through the exploitation of that vast nation of 400 million people.

The American Negro press in particular has come out in very gratifying jubilation over the victory of the British Labor Party in the elections. The victory—and a very great victory it is—seems to herald independence or self-government for colonial peoples. And in recent years the Negro people in the United States have shown a serious interest in the fate of the hundreds of millions oppressed and exploited by British imperialism.

True, some of the more experienced journalists, like George Schuyler of the Pittsburgh Courier, are skeptical. Schuyler, in fact, states bluntly: "After all, British Labor has a stake in imperialism." This is the crux of the matter and illustrates a fundamental problem in all Labor politics.

Has British Labor got a stake in imperialism? The answer depends upon the definition of the term British Labor.

The British working class, in the majority of its millions, has no stake in imperialism. A very small section has shared in the profits that British capital sucked out of the Empire. These few received higher wages than the average and formed the British aristocracy of labor. They were the social basis of the parliamentary Labor Party and dominated it.

The British labor leaders and the trade union bureaucrats express the aims, wishes and ideas of this section of labor. In alliance with them are the parliamentarians, municipal councilors, journalists, school teachers and other white collar workers who turn away from the regular capitalist parties and embrace the labor movement.

All these form a tight caucus sitting on top of the labor movement. They certainly have a stake in imperialism. They cannot help it. They

do not want any radical change in the Britain of today. Despite their socialistic words, they have much the same type of political mentality as Hillman and Murray. Their socialism is merely a decoration for a program of large public works, government intervention in or control of banks and bankrupt industries, more social security, better educational facilities for workers, etc.

This means reforming the capitalist system in Britain, but giving it a new name—socialism. It sounds better.

Every child knows that capitalist Britain is bound tight to the Empire. Without India and the African colonies the present economic structure of Britain would fly apart into a million pieces. So that the Labor leaders by leaving capitalist Britain virtually intact are thereby compelled to retain all the links of empire.

But the large majority of the British workers, eighty per cent at least, if not more, would support freedom for India and the African colonies tomorrow. They want a new Britain—a socialist Britain. They are not very clear in their own minds as to how this socialist Britain will function. Roughly, they think that if capitalist property were taken over by a socialist government, if the land were nationalized, and if the economy was planned, Britain would get a new start.

REAL CHANGE NEEDED

They are perfectly right. What is required is a total reorganization of the economy of Great Britain AND a total reorganization of the economy of the colonies. Instead of a relationship of exploitation between capitalist Britain and the colonies, what is required is a relationship of co-operation between socialist Britain and emancipated colonies. But so long as the Labor leaders

Chicago's Unemployment

By ROY GOULD

During the first week after V-J Day, 80,000 Chicago workers lost their jobs. A few days ago these men and women were Essential War Workers, the Home-Front Heroes of Production. These heroes were frozen to their jobs, however, with their wages frozen, too. They were told "Work or Fight."

Today they are free again—unemployed, but free to take lower paid jobs, if they can find them.

The big plants, organized by the CIO, were hit the hardest. The Chicago CIO Industrial Union Council reacted vigorously to this threat to its members. Within a few days, the Council carried through a successful mass meeting, with two parades, banners, slogans, sound-trucks and all.

As an organizing feat this was commendable, but the turnout of only 5,000 was disappointing, and the political hokum dished out at the meeting was absolutely nauseating.

The meeting was conceived as a protest to Congress and to national and local political leaders, who were blamed for neglecting the war workers. The official slogans were "Jobs for All" and "\$25 for 26 Weeks" unemployment insurance.

Speaker after speaker pounded these slogans home; every two-bit union climber (especially Stalinists) hopped onto the platform and was allowed a minute or two (except for certain militant officers of the larger locals who were not invited to speak.)

TURN POLITICIANS

One after another they expounded on the rights of labor, of women workers and of Negro workers. One after another, they very correctly laid the fault on the steps of Congress. One after another they discovered that this was a political prob-

lem. They unerringly led up to the grand anti-climax—no, not Independent Labor Party—just send a postcard to your Congressman!

The only speaker to get above the PAC level was UAW's Dick Frankenstein, the main speaker. Into an otherwise uneventful speech, he suddenly threw the challenge that if Congress did not act quickly, he personally would lead a March on Washington. But Frankenstein is in the

icians should have been invited on this occasion is a mystery which can only be solved in terms of the confused political line of Hillman. But, in any event, Mayor Kelly turned up—amid resounding boos from the workers, some of whom still remember the Memorial Day Massacre of 1937.

Once before the microphone, this master politician overcame his inauspicious welcome with a few neat words of political fakery. He promised that Illinois' 10 Democratic Congressmen would not only vote for, but would fight for, all the demands made at this meeting. He sat down amid resounding cheers.

MAIN THING WAS MISSING

Throughout the meeting one thing was lacking—the Labor Party Slogan. Every slogan pointed to it. Every speech led up to it. Some speakers even got as far as the British Elections, and Frankenstein's candidacy for Mayor of Detroit. Yet no one mentioned a Labor Party.

One poster said, "Mayor Kelly, Remember England. It Can Happen Here. Labor is on the March." When Frankenstein was introduced as the next Mayor of Detroit, someone yelled, "Why don't you come to Chicago?" Yet no one mentioned Labor Party—no one, nor any literature, except LABOR ACTION, which was distributed at the gate.

In spite of all short-comings, this protest demonstration was a start. It provided the fanfare and superficial trappings that must accompany labor political action. To achieve anything, this must be followed up seriously, with solid political building, and a broad perspective of an Independent Labor Party.

Whistling in the Dark

"If there is another war and atomic bombs are used, I don't believe the number of people killed will be greater than in this war and might well be less, since it is easier to protect people than machinery from very violent explosions because it is easier to disperse them. The objectives will be factories, not armies." —Statement by Sir George Paget Thomson, chairman of an English scientists' committee to study atomic power (New York Times, Aug. 24).

habit of talking big and doing nothing. However, this idea of mass action seemed out of place among the mountainous mail bags of post-cards to Congressmen. But it got a cheer out of the crowd.

The other main speaker was Mayor Edward J. Kelly. (Governor Green having neglected to answer his invitation.) Just why these notorious poli-

German Communists Out to Break 8-Hour Day

The end of the eight-hour day was demanded by the recently organized trade unions of Berlin in a resolution sponsored by the Communist Party, active in the leadership, according to an Associated Press report of August 11.

The Communists advanced the argument that German labor has a tremendous job facing it and that it could not accomplish it upon an eight-hour-day basis. German workers have been driven to work ten and twelve hours a day ever since Hitler began his rearmament program. It is the intention of the Communist Party to drive them back to work for the same stretches in order to pay Allied reparations, above all to the Russians. It is Russia's demand for prompt payments that is the real reason for the Communist Party action.

The unions which the Communists have set up in Berlin under the bayonets of the occupation troops will be vast "company" unions aimed at the maximum exploitation of labor. The profits of the German workers' labor will go mainly to the Russian bosses. As in any company union plant, the bosses will mainly depend upon their

stooges at the head of the "union" to keep the workers from really fighting back. This will be the role of the German Communists.

As everywhere in the world, the German Communist Party has no interest in the welfare of the workers in whose name they seek to speak. Their interest begins and ends with the welfare of the Russian state, controlled by the bureaucratic class. However, the conduct of the German Communists and the "company" unions they have set up will do un-

told damage to the cause of organized labor in Germany. Workers will see the trade unions as the stooges of the occupation forces and have nothing but curses for such a movement. Without genuine trade unions to lead struggles on behalf of the German working class, the demagogic propaganda of the Nazi underground will have all the greater chance of finding a sympathetic response.

The job of building a genuine trade union movement in Germany based upon class struggle against all oppressors, American, British, Russian and native German capitalists, must begin with a fight to drive the Communist puppets of Moscow out of all positions of influence in the labor movement. Such a fight will have to be organized and led by those in Germany who base themselves upon Marxist principles, as does the Workers Party in this country. However, such a fight will, undoubtedly, call forth widespread support from the old pre-Hitler trade unionists who, regardless of their political views, were brought up in the belief that the purpose of a union is to fight for shorter hours and more pay rather than the opposite.

New York Election Pamphlet:

HOW TO GET JOBS FOR ALL

Five Cents a Copy from the New York Campaign Committee: Write also for the Program Leaflet to 114 West 14th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

# Unravelling The Balkan Riddle

By Sam Adams

More than enough time has passed since the war ended in Europe to reveal the real Allied policy for the Continent. A glance at the daily press shows that the great "ideals" which the Big Three constantly referred to as their purpose in the war, the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, not only do not exist, they are not even mentioned any more.

What was absolutely clear from the moment it became certain that the Allies would defeat Germany, namely, that Europe would be divided into spheres of influence among the big powers under a super-Versailles Peace Treaty, is now a reality. Europe lives under the conditions outlined by Potsdam decisions, which, although they deal primarily with Germany, also ratified the Yalta agreements, which divided Europe among the Big Three.

At that time, we wrote that these agreements were power agreements. They were based on the respective strengths of the Big Three and had nothing whatever to do with honor, justice, freedom, the rights of the people, self-determination, national independence, peace or security.

## THE IMPERIALIST PACE

William Henry Chamberlain, noted correspondent and author, called the Potsdam decision the worst in all history. Whether it is the worst or not is not too important. What is important is that imperialist decisions were made at Yalta and Potsdam which exchanged territories, uprooted millions of people and instituted police, military or supervised régimes in most countries.

Russia, which had already seized parts of Finland, incorporated the Baltic states into its borders, revised the Polish borders and set up a puppet régime there in agreement with her allies, seized other territories which "voted" to join the "Soviet Union." She has also been given spheres of influence in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In addition, Russia occupies the largest zone in Germany.

Great Britain has dominated Greece since the Germans were driven out of the country. Her main object is to prevent the workers from seizing the reins of government and thereby oust the royalist gang in power. She has maintained a tight control on Italy, jointly with the United States and also occupies an important industrial area of Germany.

The United States maintains a sharp interest in all the areas of Europe. American imperialism wants to prevent any single country from dominating the Continent. She hopes to do this through her enormous economic, political and military might and by establishing a powerful base for herself in Western Europe through Great Britain and France.

So long as the war in the Far East remained to be fought, great concessions were given to Stalin. Great Britain and the United States undoubtedly hoped that this would not mean complete Russian domination of Eastern Europe or the Balkans. But the Russians proceeded quickly to reduce their "spheres of influence" into puppet states.

## DEMOCRACY FOR WHOM?

In the case of Roumania, the Red Army installed the Groza government, proceeded to smash all anti and non-Stalinist elements in the country and to insure a complete pro-Russian régime with the aid of the Russian army and the native Communist Party.

In Bulgaria, the Fatherland Front, dominated by the Communist Party and assisted by the Russians, runs the country. The elections planned for August 26, against which the United States and Great Britain protested so vehemently, were postponed with the promise that they would be made really democratic. Special election laws were in operation which would have disqualified opponents of the Stalinist Fatherland Front from voting. When Byrnes and Bevin made representations that they would not recognize the Georgiev government on the basis of undemocratic elections, the Bulgarians, under advice from the Russians, who first opposed the British and Americans, finally conceded to their demands.

Least anyone think that the situation in Greece is fundamentally different than in the Russian-occupied Balkans, remember that the demand of the Voulgaris government for Allied supervision of the election is made for the purpose of intimidating the anti-royalists and the resistance movement.

Russia declined the invitation, to supervise the Greek elections on the ground that it would be an undemocratic act and would mean interference in the affairs of another country. This really takes the banner for hypocrisy. The nation which has already destroyed the independence of so many countries declined to supervise the elections in Greece because it would mean "interference in the affairs of another country!"

## LIBERATION? WHERE?

What is this all about? The answer is really very simple.

We are observing a clash of interests in Europe. England and France, for example, have important economic interests in Romania and Yugoslavia which Russia dominates. They want to protect those interests. The Western powers want free access to the whole of Europe, something which is denied them, by Stalin. Previous to this, the United States and England had made a deal over the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean. Churchill likewise made a deal with Molotov extending to Russia a zone of interest in Romania. But Russia took the whole country. The United States and Great Britain want to curb Russian power in Europe.

Hence all the talk about "democratic elections." It has nothing really to do with FREE elections, national independence or democracy. The quick end of the war enabled the Western powers to intervene more actively in the European theater, each promoting her own imperialist interests.

Europe, after the "war of liberation," is a conquered land. Genuine peace, freedom and security for the Continent have still to be achieved.

## NEXT WEEK:

The Russo-Chinese Treaty

Active Workers Conference of the WP  
By Albert Gates

Gerald L. K. Smith—America's  
No. 1 Fascist By Hal Draper

# THE SWP AND THE NEW YORK ELECTIONS

The New York Local of the Workers Party has just made public the text of a letter which it sent more than a month ago to the corresponding branch of the Socialist Workers Party in an effort to arrive at an agreement which would avoid the presentation of two conflicting candidates for the office of Mayor of New York in the present municipal election.

The Socialist Workers Party, while it never acknowledged receipt of this letter or sent a reply to the proposal, has, however, decided to reject the offer to arrive at an agreement or even to discuss the possibility of joint action.

As readers of LABOR ACTION know, Local New York of the Workers Party announced some time ago its decision to nominate Max Shachtman, national secretary of the party, for the office of Mayor. It was only after this announcement was made public that the Socialist Workers Party decided to enter a candidate of its own for the same office.

In spite of this fact, the Workers Party felt it its duty to the cause of revolutionary socialist unity to address a letter to the Socialist Workers Party in the hope of averting the confusion that might well be created among many militant, radical and socialist workers who would be confronted with a choice between two candidates whose election platforms do not have any fundamental differences between them.

As is to be seen from the letter, the terms of the agreement were left entirely open so that they might be arrived at in the course of discussion between the two organizations. The letter also points out that regardless of the terms of the agreement, it would

not be necessary for either party to give up its own platform, its own views, or its own campaign, all of which could be put forward in complete political independence.

It is well known that such practical agreements are not only permissible from the standpoint of socialist principle, but have been made time and again between working class parties and organizations, even though there have been political differences between them on numerous questions.

The Socialist Workers Party, however, or rather the Cannonite group in the leadership of it, voted to reject the Workers Party proposal out of hand. The rejection was voted against the protest of a minority group, led by Albert Goldman, Felix Morrow and Oscar Williams, prominent party leaders, who pointed out the need and value of accepting the proposal of the Workers Party and ap-

especially those who are more advanced politically, and the common cause to which we adhere can be harmed.

We believe it is possible to arrive at an agreement between the two parties which, while assuring the political integrity of both, would eliminate the confusion and avert the harm. While confident of the possibility of joint action in the election campaign, we do not wish to anticipate its exact terms.

Therefore, we have selected a sub-committee to meet with a similar committee representing your organization for the purpose of exploring the possibilities of joint action in the New York election. Our sub-committee is prepared to meet with you at the earliest possible moment.

Fraternally yours,  
Local New York, Workers Party  
REVA CRAINE, Organizer.

July 5, 1945.

## Local New York City Committee Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place New York, N. Y.

Dear Comrades:

As you know, the Workers Party has nominated Comrade Max Shachtman for the office of Mayor in the coming New York municipal campaign. We note that the Socialist Workers Party has nominated Comrade Farrell Dobbs for the same office, and Louise Simpson for the office of Councilman. The campaign platforms presented by the Workers Party and the Socialist Workers Party in the New York election will, in all likelihood, reveal no fundamental or radical differences. Under these circumstances, much confusion can be created among workers,

national trade a monopoly. The latter course would be on our part a long step toward going into socialism ourselves.

While the squeeze put on Britain affects capital as well as the Labor Party, and throws Churchill squealing into the same chorus with Atlee and others, other Tories are busy pointing the "moral" to the Labor MP's.

Said Oliver Lyttleton: "If you wish to obtain assistance from the United States you must be careful about the nasty things you say about private enterprise that will affront American opinion."

The Tory ex-president of the English Board of Trade is saying, along with the American Tories who wish to cut off loans to "socialist" England: "Don't touch private property, boys, or Uncle Sam's going to get you."

## FOR A BOLD POLICY

That the U. S. and British Tories had "got" the Labor government for the moment was evidenced by the immediate announcement of Cripps that even with the war over, clothes rations will be reduced, and the numerous statements of others that Britain's standard of living threatens

to sink beneath the low mark of the blitzkrieg days.

U. S. action in stopping lend-lease is the cue for the British Labor government. It should make good its promises to nationalize the Bank of England and the joint stock banks as well. If capital is needed to run British industry, let the wealthy profiteers furnish it. And since support will be lacking from foreign capital for British enterprise, the only method of assuring support is for the Labor government to follow a socialist international policy, as well. That would mean immediate and unconditional freedom of the 400 million Indians and the inhabitants of the crown colonies now ruled by England. It would mean a renunciation of the reactionary, pro-imperialist foreign policy speech of Ernest Bevin, the new Foreign Minister, a speech to every word of which Winston Churchill agreed. A truly socialist program abroad and at home would win to British sympathy the legions of labor in every country, including the United States.

If ever an international working class program was dictated to a labor movement that wanted to achieve socialism—and it is dictated to all—it is doubly true in relation to the

Army Trains Strikebreakers

WASHINGTON, D. C. (WDL) — President Truman has been asked by Workers Defense League chairman Aron S. Gilmartin to take public action to disavow Army strikebreaking exercises held in Toledo, Ohio, recently.

Rev. Gilmartin pointed out that the Army had been training MPs from Camp Perry, Ohio, to break strikes during a basic training course for military policemen held in Toledo, Ohio, under the direction of Captain Paul Gillis.

"During the exercises," Rev. Gilmartin wrote President Truman, "troops were operating against 'snip-

ers' who were referred to by Capt. Gillis as strikers, and as the exercises continued, it was obvious that the soldiers were being trained not for war duties but for anti-labor activities at home."

In a Washington story by Labor Press Associates, it was reported that Toledo labor was aroused by the incident. Gilmartin in his letter to the President said that Toledo labor feels "that Camp Perry has adequate facilities for all necessary maneuvers, and that the action of the Army in holding the demonstration in Toledo near the Acklin plant shows that the Army is giving the workers 'a not too subtle warning of things to come.'"

resented by one delegate who cast 150 votes for his union in the roll call.

## COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

Davis counter-posed, in addition to support of official CIO policy, a program of delegations to see Congressmen in Washington in support of a 40 hour week. He stated that the workers were not yet prepared for anything "so advanced" as a demand for a 30 hour week and 48 hours pay. He designated the call for a "National Labor Holiday" as an appeal for a general strike. Those supporting the resolution made no effort to deny that what was necessary was exactly that, a one-day general strike demonstration as a warning to Congress that labor meant business.

The fact that 28 delegates voted for the subsidy resolution is an indication that the sentiment in their locals among the rank and file is rapidly advancing toward a more drastic solution to lay-offs than that proposed by the CIO. The members are getting weary of financing delegations to Washington that come back with nothing but promises.

The debate on the subsidy resolution was followed by a debate on the resolution for the independent Labor

Party. It called for the "formation of a Labor Party, independent of all other political parties." The resolution was based upon the wording of a resolution adopted by Local 42 a year ago, when under the pressure of red-baiting attacks from the opposition, an amendment was adopted adding "and adhering to the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States."

## PROGRESSIVES ACT!

The Industrial Council rejected the resolution by a roll-call vote of 378 to 195. At the time the vote was taken a number of delegates had already left the meeting. However, Bendix Local 114 of the UE joined the progressives on this question. The arguments of the opposition reduced themselves to the line taken by the delegate from Sidney Hillman's clothing workers who could say nothing more than the time is not yet ripe for an independent Labor Party. Beyond this, they could only offer as a substitute continued support of the PAC and the legislative program of the CIO. The speakers for the resolution effectively pointed out the miserably bungling of reconversion by Congress, the long anti-labor record of the

war-time Congresses, and that, in the words of the resolution, "Congress has taken no action to break the 'little steel formula' which has frozen wages, while it has made careful plans for Big Business through providing tax refunds guaranteeing profits for two years after the end of the war."

The progressives of the Philadelphia CIO movement are greatly heartened by their showing in this first fight on these important questions. They are sure that the obvious logic of their position is being daily emphasized by events and that the rank and file of the CIO locals will soon send a solid progressive majority to the Council.

Detroit Sunday Night Forum: Veterans and the Labor Movement SPEAKER: BILL MILLER LABOR ACTION HALL 2650 Arndt at Gratiot and Chene

The Workers Party Program States: "A guaranteed \$5,000 annual income to all workers' families by means of a planned rise in the national income and a thirty-hour maximum work week." Vote for MAX SHACHTMAN WORKERS PARTY CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK

# Winrod: America's Jayhawk Nazi

By Shirley Lawrence

The Rev. Gerald B. Winrod, otherwise known as the "Jayhawk Nazi," is attempting to launch again his particular brand of fascist ideology. The Kansas demagogue, a Bible-thumping evangelist of the old school with modern trimmings, is now operating under the cloak of a "spiritual revival." He was recently courageously picked by seventy-five militant Akron anti-fascists who organized a "United Committee to Expose Winrod Fascism." These seem to be strategic times for the general dissemination of the propaganda of the various native American fascist groups.

Winrod's contributions to American fascist crack-potism are fairly typical, following the anti-labor, anti-Negro, anti-Jewish and pro-Nazi pattern also practiced by most of America's leading fascists in league with Winrod and along with some of whom he is under indictment for treason.

## WHO IS WINROD?

A summary of salient points in his career will reveal the real threat and danger that is inherent in his fascist teachings. In Wichita, Kan., Winrod early plunged into a career as a tent evangelist and rabble-rouser. Along with William Jennings Bryan, he zealously campaigned against evolutionist teaching in the schools, threatening his opponents with lightning bolts and other manifestations of God's wrath. When interest in the monkey battles ebbed, he turned to Catholic baiting, which was popular in Kansas during the Klan ascendancy. He once described the Roman Catholic Church as the "harlot woman of the Bible."

Winrod, who was the inspiration for Sinclair Lewis' Buzs Windrop, next unearthed his "international Jewish conspiracy" shortly after Hitler came to power. His magazine, The Defender, became loudly anti-Semitic and announced that Jewish conspirators were plotting to overthrow the government. Later he was revealed that President Roosevelt's name was Rosenfeld and that the New Deal therefore represented not only a political but a "biological" problem. He was also to charge that the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby was part of a Jewish-Communist plot.

Not content with these profound revelations, he decided to seek new vistas; he began by worshipping at the shrine of German fascism. In January, 1935, after a visit to Germany, made at the invitation of Dr. Otto H. S. Vollbeh, a propagandist for the Reich, he informed a meeting of his followers that his experiences abroad had further convinced him that Jews were responsible for all the ills of the world.

## LEARNED FROM HITLER

On his return from Germany, Winrod seriously embarked on his fascist activities, and acquired senatorial ambitions: "I am absolutely sure of going to the United States Senate. When there, I will make it my sounding board." Three years later, in 1938, he almost made good his boast by polling 83,000 votes but was beaten by a last-minute campaign against him.

Spending money at an estimated rate of \$5,000 a week, probably more than the combined sum of his three opponents, he peddled platitudes by means of a radio chain, a sound truck, platform addresses, a magazine, two newspapers and tons of campaign literature. Big business and Nazi financial interests were generous in their support of the would-be American "Fuehrer."

A noteworthy aspect of the 1938 campaign was Winrod's lamb-like disavowal of racial or religious bigotry. He represented himself as a pious, peace-loving Christian and democrat who had been greatly maligned.

Actually he has spread more genuine fascist propaganda than any other American pro-Nazi. The Defender has been an American version of the Sturmer; in addition, he has published two other magazines, now defunct, and hundreds of pamphlets, and has delivered thousands of speeches, all embodying the Goebbels doctrine.

Winrod's activities have been closely integrated with those of other members of America's fascist network. The list of those he has published and praised in the Defender reads like a "Who's Who" of American fascism: Father Coughlin, Gerald L. K. Smith, Colonel Sanctuary, ex-Congressman Jacob Thorkelson, R. E. Edmondson, Lawrence Dennis. He has been praised in turn by most of them. Smith placed him on his list of outstanding Americans and Edmondson once named him on a fascist roll of honor. Winrod has also made extensive use of World Service, a German propaganda agency. He was connected, too, with the German-American Bund, the American Nationalist Confederation, which called itself the Fascist Party of America, with Pelley of the Silver Shirt movement and with a reviving Klan.

## WINROD'S BACKERS

His chief backing comes from a group of thirty to forty influential fundamentalist preachers who accept his leadership, invite him to address their congregations and who write for The Defender. The Rev. Harry H. Hodge, a close friend of Congressman Martin Dies, is also a Winrod associate. In the summer of 1937, Hodge was instrumental in having Dies call off an investigation of Winrod.

Winrod's fundamentalist followers provide him with an excellent political base. Winrod again ran for senator in the fall of 1942 and polled around 75,000 votes. That he is a crack-pot pure and simple does not alter the fact that his insistent propaganda has won thousands of supporters and that the subsidies of big business are a constant rejuvenating agent.

It is true that the lies and deceptions spawned by the "Jayhawk Nazi" have little to differentiate them from those of his fascist cohorts in this country. All attempt to raise obsolete problems and to bring the relations between the individual and society back to what they were two centuries ago.

But it is also true that Winrod is particularly dangerous, because he is surrounded by an aura of religious respectability. Italian and German fascism too presented themselves as a religion, which would rather arouse faith than address itself to the intelligence or to reason. Once the faithful believe, nothing is easier than to play with truth and logic, under a veil of mysticism. "Fascism is so, because the Leader says so!" Fascism rests on a fundamental scorn of the masses of people.

## IS THE U. S. IMMUNE?

It would be a mistake to think our country has a "tradition" or "heritage" rendering fascism impossible. There are the same potentialities for a fascist movement in this country as there are in all capitalist countries, wherein fascism always serves the interests of big business.

The more we are led to think of fascism as something monstrous and unheard of, as one more "ism," peculiar to foreign nations—the harder it will be to check the growth of American fascism. By spot-lighting the secondary characteristics of European fascism, such as Jew-baiting and book-burning, without exposing its class roots, the false impression is built up that such manifestations are something unparalleled in the history of "civilized" nations. This makes it easier to divert the energy of the American working class and supporters into a crusade against overseas fascism, while our own ruling class is left in power, biding its time to introduce fascism over here when the situation demands it.